1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

Lolokumete.—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are 824 called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is 843 made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *evuevu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

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[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies[4]

Pregnancy

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 593 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she determines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately concerned with the problem of finding her some special food, for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month, 843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small 571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

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843 the body of the new born infant will be covered with sores. They also abstain from eating certain types of sea food lest the foetus be injured. In case of a miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the village cemetery without ceremony.

842 Most of the natives know no contraceptives. The women of Mothe, however, say that if a woman does not want a child she goes to a female doctor who takes her into the lagoon and by manipulating the uterus is able to prevent her from conceiving. When she wishes a child she returns to the medicine woman who, by means of counter-manipulation, replaces the uterus into normal position. Informants say that the wid[illegible]val practise is also known as a means of preventing conception.

847 [illegible] say that abortion is common among unmarried girls [illegible]nds like Mothe where standards of morality are [illegible]. [illegible]ding to informants, it is accomplished between the [illegible]fth [illegible]ths. Three methods are known: pricking by the insertion [illegible] blade of sharp, stiff grass; hard labor such as carrying heavy loads, jumping, or splitting wood; and drinking an infusion of herbs prescribed by a medicine woman.

844 Childbirth takes place in the sleeping house. No man is present unless the birth is unusually difficult, when the husband occasionally helps. An attempt is made to keep the labor secret in the village and to keep children out of the house. If the labor is prolonged, however, the children of the village gather and watch. As soon as the infant is born they are allowed to enter the house.

When the pains begin the woman in labor bathes in the house. Her mother, mother-in-law, or grandmother acts as [424] midwife and gives her a medicine to facilitate delivery. The recipe for this medicine is an inherited or purchased secret, carefully guarded by the owner. The best midwife on Kambara makes it of beaten hibiscus bark placed in a coconut reticulum bag and steeped in water. A skilled midwife deter-

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576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
● [842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

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treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts scrapings of bark of the *siketh*i and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area.

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *siketh*i (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.